

## Message Text

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43

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

SAB-01 IO-10 AID-05 TRSE-00 /073 W

----- 007408

R 211000Z JUN 75

FM USINT BAGHDAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2114

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY SANAA

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L BAGHDAD 663

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IZ, XF

SUBJECT: IRAQI POLICY IN THE GULF

1. SUMMARY: INFORMATION ON IRAQ'S NEW POLICY IN THE GULF IN WAKE OF RAPPROCHEMENT WITH IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA IS STILL HARD TO COME BY. WHAT APPEARS TO BE EMERGING IS NOT ADVOCACY OF SECURITY PACT OR OTHER FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS, BUT RATHER DESIRE FOR GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH ALL LITTORAL STATES AND AN INFORMAL AGREEMENT WITH IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA THAT INSURES IRAQ'S VITAL INTERESTS, NTABLY ASSURED PASSAGE THROUGH STRAITS OF HORMUZ. END SUMMARY.

2. MOST RELIABLE INFORMATION I HAVE DEVELOPED COMES FROM  
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BRITISH AMBASSADOR GRAHAM WHO DISCUSSED SUBJECT RECENTLY WITH

MFA U/S JAMALI. JAMALI SAID FLATLY THAT IRAQ NOT INTERESTED IN FORMAL SECURITY PACT, BUT WISHED TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT WITH IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA ON FREEDOM OF ACCESS TO GULF. JAMALI INDICATED IRAQ WOULD AGREE TO PASSAGE OF FOREIGN NAVAL VESSELS ON ROUTINE SHIP VISITS BUT NOT PASSAGE FOR OPERATIONAL PURPOSES. GRAHAM SAID IRAQI POSITION COULD PRESUMABLY CAUSE PROBLEM FOR U.S. NAVAL UNITS STATIONED IN BAHRAIN. HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE IN U.S. AND WESTERN INTERESTS IN GULF EVENTUALLY TO GIVE UP BAHRAIN BASE.

3. EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR AL-NAGGAR, COMMENTING ON RECENT VISIT OF PRINCE FAHD, WHICH HE SAID WENT EXTREMELY WELL, TOLD ME HE UNDERSTOOD THAT SHAH HAD TOLD BOTH SAUDIS AND IRAQIS THAT IRAN WOULD WELCOME ARAB LITTORAL STATES ADOPTING A COMMON POSITION ON THE VARIOUS QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE GULF AND THEN IFAN AND ARAB STATES COULD COOPERATE TOGETHER. SHAH REPORTEDLY SAID RAN HAD NO INTEREST IN DIVIDING GULF STATES OR HAVING SPECIAL POSITION IN CERTAIN OF THEM.

4. PRESIDENT AL-BAKR SENT SPECIAL ENVOY MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HISHAN ASH-SHAWI TO UAE, KUWAIT, BAHRAIN AND QATAR JUNE 17/18, PRESUMABLY AS PART OF GOI POLICY OF WINNING THEIR CONFIDENCE BY BRIEFING THEM ON PRINCE FAHD VISIT AND JUNE 13 TREATY WITH IRAN.

5. COMMENT: SUCCESS OF NEW IRAQI EFFORT TO WIN FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE GULF STATES THROUGH COOPERATION IS LIKELY TO HINGE ON SUCCESS OF RAPPROCHEMENT WITH SAUDI ARABIA, SETTLEMENT OF BORDER PROBLEM WITH KUWAIT, AND POSITION ON DHOFAR WAR. SAUDI AMBASSADOR AL-SUGAIR HAS BEEN UNCOMMUNICATIVE ABOUT FAHD VISIT, BUT HE HAS SAID THAT SAUDI GOVERNMENT NOW CONVINCED THAT BAS C CHANGE HAS TAKEN PLACE IN IRAQ'S POLICY TOWARD ARAB MONARCHIES. IT WILL HOWEVER PROCEED WITH CAUTION. LITTLE PROGRESS THUS FAR ACHIEVED ON KUWAITI BORDER DEMARCATION, BUT THIS MAY WELL BE DUE TO GOI CONCENTRATION DURING PAST THREE MONTHS ON COMPLEX BORDER NEGOTIATING WITH IRAN. I HAVE NO INDEPENDENT INFO ON IRAQI SUPPORT FOR DHOFAR WAR, BUT EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR AL-NAGGAR CLAIMS THAT IRAQ CEASED ALL ASSISTANCE TO DHOFAR REBELS ABOUT SIX MONTHS AGO AND ITS RELATIONS WITH PDRY ARE STRAINED.

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6. IRAQ'S CONFLICT WITH SYRIA HAS GIVEN FURTHER IMPETUS TO NEW GULF POLICY IN SAME WAY THAT CONFLICT WITH IRAN AND KURDS TURNED GOI INTO CHAMPION OF ARAB SOLIDARITY. MOST ARAB AMBASSADORS HERE SEEM TO BELIEVE IRAQ HAS PRESENTED BETTER CASE THAN SYRIANS AND GOI NO DOUBT HOPES THAT GULF STATES' SUBSIDIES TO SYRIA WILL GIVE THEM INFLUENCE WITH SYRIA THAT WILL REDOUND TO IRAQ'S BENEFIT.

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